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ABSTRACT

Working conditions of school leaders in Sweden are influenced by the state and various interest groups. Results of a study to compare teachers' perceptions of school leaders' work with their formally designated tasks are reported in this paper. Reasons for school leaders' working conditions are also discussed. A mailed questionnaire was completed by 2,197 out of 2,800 teachers in 11 municipalities, a 78 percent response rate. Findings indicate that teachers' expectations of school leaders did not correspond with the formal tasks that were established by the governing body, pointing to an inherent conflict within the school organization. Teachers expected principals to perform operational functions separate from teaching, while principals' official job responsibilities emphasized instructional leadership. Recommendations for improving professionalism are to develop the principal's knowledge base and priority of school goals. Eight tables and one figure are included. (31 references) (LMI)

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Working Conditions for School Leaders (Principals) in Sweden

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Working Conditions for School Leaders (Principals) in Sweden

Introduction, aims and presentation

Working conditions for school leaders relate to the context that forms the framework of the school leader's work. The state, amongst others, as the governing body of the compulsory school system in Sweden, in a formal way defines this framework. Other groups in society also influence the school leader's working conditions in different ways. Examples of such groups are:

- teachers
- other personnel
- students/pupils
- parents
- the labour market.

Within the SLAV (School leaders work and working condition) project run at the Department of Education, at Uppsala University in Sweden, a study was carried as to how the governing body of the school and other interest groups control and influence the working conditions of the school leader. This paper is based on studies carried out in Sweden during 1990, within this project. Working from the results of a comprehensive questionnaire study of over 2,000 teachers in Sweden, the paper shows teachers' perceptions of the work of school leaders.

The aim of the paper is to:

1. Describe teachers' perceptions of school leaders' work.
2. Give an account of the type of tasks that the school's governing body (the state) sets the school leader
3. Discuss possible reasons for school leaders' working conditions.

The paper begins with a brief description of the overall aim of the project and its structure and theoretical starting point[1]. Thereafter, an account of the actual aims, content, execution and results of the questionnaire is given. Against the background of the project's theoretical starting points and the results of document and questionnaire studies, final conclusions are drawn.

What the project is about

In 1988, at the Department of Education at Uppsala University in Sweden, we started a research project focused on the working conditions of school leaders (Principals). The research primarily focuses on the control of and influence upon the working conditions of school leaders exercised by the legal governing body (in Abrahamssons, 1977, terms the "mandator") as well as by different interest groups within society.

During 1989-90 we studied the informal influence of different interest groups in eleven municipalities in Sweden. This was done through studies of the expectations of teachers, students, parents and other school personnel. Altogether some 11,000 questionnaires have been collected from these groups. The questionnaire study was followed up by a number of interviews with teachers.

In addition, interviews with some fifty school leaders have been conducted, the purpose of which was to investigate school leaders' own expectations of their own work, how they experience other's expectations etc.

The formal control has been studied through research into policy and legislative documents relating to schooling in general as well as school leadership in particular.

1. For a more comprehensive account see Berg & Nytell 1991

The theoretical frame of reference

The kind of control that schools exercise can be divided into the direct control exercised by the governing body - in our study often the state - and the indirect control exercised by other interest groups within society. The control exercised by the state can be understand in terms of legalality, as the jurisdiction of the state encompasses the control of schools. Society's control can be viewed in term of legitimacy,as it rests on different currents within society that do not necessarily need to be formally legalized rather than having their foundations in, for example, ritual, tradition, the formation of opinions etc (Nytell & Berg 1991).

A strictly controlled (centralized) organization offers less scope for influence by other groups in society, whilst a less controlled (decentralized) organization offers more scope for such influence (cf Berg, 1988). As previously mentioned, the interest groups within society that can, in one way or another, influence the school and thereby, also influence the working conditions of school leaders are, for example:

- teachers
- other personnel
- students
- parents
- the labour market.

An understanding of school management presupposes an understanding of the type of control that state and society, together, exercise over both the organization and the institution. The school leader's tasks and functions emanate from this complex control.

The Swedish school system and studies carried out in Sweden

The governing body of the compulsory school system (the mandator) is ultimately the state and to a certain extent, the municipalities. Since the governing body has the formal control and strive to govern the school in different ways, the extent and degree to which the governing body exercises this control and thereby the formal right to govern schools is, in reality, an

empirical question. This problem area has been studied in the Swedish section of the study.

The Swedish school system, as previously mentioned, is formallly controlled by the state and by state delegation the municipalities. Previously, the form of this control was centralized in character. The state formulated rules regarding the local operation of the school. However, the goals have become wider. In recent years, the state has, to a certain degree, reduced this system of direct control by exchanging certain detailed rules with "guidelines". Such a change in the control system offers greater scope for influence by the local municipality and other interest groups within society. The governing body's control and the influence exercised by the interest groups within society has been studied and is now at the report stage (see, for example, Berg, 1990 and Nytell, 1991).

The execution of the questionnaire study

The questionnaire study was directed at all teachers with at least a part time (50%) post in the eleven municipalities that were included in the SLAV project in 1989. These municipalities had, themselves, registered their interest in taking part in the project. This means that no traditional method of selection was used. However, there is nothing to indicate that the eleven municipalities are particularly exceptional in any way.

The questionnaire was distributed to a total of 2,800 teachers. Of these, 2,197 teachers answered the questionnaire, i.e., a 78% response. One reason for the relatively low total response was that in one municipality there was a particularly poor response, namely, 60%, due to the teachers in this municipality being affected, to a great degree, by the industrial conflict amongst teachers which took place in 1990. An analysis of the municipality has subsequently shown that no particular group failed to answer the questionnaire.

The content of the questionnaire and an accounting of its results

The questionnaire that the teachers answered was relatively comprehensive and consisted of 32 questions. The majority were "multiple choice" questions. The questionnaire principally dealt with questions relating to how teachers experienced:

1. Their own working relations
2. The possibilities of cooperation in, so called, working units.
3. Governing factors for teaching.
4. Knowledge of the controlling instrument of the school.
5. School leaders' current and desirable work.
6. Contact with the school leader.

The content of the questionnaire was formed by the theoretical starting point and aims of the project as set out above.

In this paper, only those sections of the questionnaire that are of interest to the purposes of this study are reported, namely:

1. To describe teachers' perceptions of school leaders' work
2. To show the type of tasks that the school's governing body (the state) has set the school leader.
3. To discuss possible reasons for the working conditions of the school leader.

This means, apart from certain background information, that the answers to the questions regarding school leaders' current and desirable work (no. 5, above) and the contact with the school leader (no. 6, above), are the principle questions dealt with[2].

To make comparisons between different categories of teachers possible, the results have been mainly formulated in percentage terms.

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2. For a more comprehensive account of the results, refer to Nytell, 1991.

Teachers' backgrounds

Of the 2,197 teachers who answered the questionnaire, 1,441 (68%) were women and 693 (32%) were men. Most of the teachers were between the ages of 40 and 50. The average age being 43 years. 93% (2,005) of those who answered the questionnaire are qualified teachers, whilst 4% (94) are completely unqualified. 3% (63) are qualified teachers but are unqualified for the posts that they currently hold.

It was mainly the different class and subject teachers who answered the questionnaire, as can be seen from table 1.

Table 1. Categories of teacher

Teacher category	Frequency	
	No.	%
Class teachers	799	37%
Subject teachers	734	34%
Teachers of practical/ aesthetic subjects	262	12%
Vocational subject teachers	80	4%
Adult educational teachers	32	2%
Special teachers	233	11%

The great proportion of teachers, namely, 77% (1,625), work within the compulsory school system (comprehensive school). The remaining 23% (493) work within voluntary school forms, sixth form/high school and adult education institutions[3]. Table 2 shows the teachers' principle teaching posts.

3. Hereafter called voluntary school forms

Table 2. Teachers' principle teaching posts

Teacher category	Frequency	
	No.	%
Primary school	528	25%
Junior school	507	24%
Senior school	590	28%
Total comprehensive schools:	1,625	77%
Sixth form/High school	352	17%
Adult educational institutions	141	6%
Total voluntary school forms:	493	23%

Teachers' perceptions of school leaders' work

Teachers' views of school leaders' operational direction

Table 3 shows the different statements that illustrate teachers' views of the school leaders operational direction. Teachers were asked to indicate whether they agreed or disagreed with a number of statements relating to the bias of school leaders' operations.

Table 3. Teachers' views of school leaders' operational direction

Statement	Agree	Disagree
The school leader must have the principle responsibility to ensure that the bias of the school's teaching meets the states intentions	89%	11%
School leaders should not do any teaching themselves	13%	87%
The teacher must be responsible for the content of the teaching and the school leader for its external organizational form (work allocation, premises etc)	83%	16%
The school leader should have the principle responsibility for school development work	83%	17%

It can be seen from this table that the teachers mainly feel that the school leader should be responsible for the school's external organization and be principally responsible for the school's operation. On the other hand, teachers feel that they themselves and not the school leader should be responsible for the teaching content. However, Junior school teachers feel this to a somewhat lesser degree (79%) than teachers within the other school forms (83%-89%).

This type of result showing that teachers themselves feel that they and not the school leader should be responsible for the teaching content is also supported by the results of another question where none of the teachers indicated that directives from the school leader were an important governing factor in their own teaching. That school leaders do not currently deal with teaching questions and neither should they do so is shown by teachers' ranking of headmasters'[4] working profiles. The teachers' ranking shows, amongst other things, that headmasters' current working profiles are not characterized by work with the teaching content and according to the teachers, neither should it be so. On the other hand, teachers feel that headmasters' current working

4. Note that the question applies only to headmasters

profiles are principally characterized by financial administration and ongoing administrative routines. According to the teachers, this ought not to be the case, instead, the working profile should be characterized by work with personnel development, further education and personnel welfare. The table below shows how teachers experience headmasters' current and desirable working profiles. This is shown with the help of an average ranking value and ranking-correlation[5]. The average ranking value shows how the group of teachers, on average, have ranked headmasters' working profiles. The ranking-correlation shows the connection between each individual teacher's ranking of how they experience the headmasters' working profiles today and how they would like it to be. A high ranking-correlation (maximum value is 1) shows a totally positive connection, whilst a low ranking-correlation (minimum value -1) shows a total negative connection[6].

5. Spearman's ranking-correlation

6. It should be pointed out that there are certain difficulties attached to this question, for example, that teachers understand the term "working profile" in different ways and it can be difficult to make as many as six ranking selections. The results of the question must therefore be interpreted against this background.

Table 4. How teachers experience headmasters' current and desirable working profiles (average rank value[7] and ranking-correlation[8]).

Working profile	Average rank value		Ranking-correlation
	Now	Desirable	
Teaching content	5.12	4.5	0.32
Student welfare	3.66	3.07	0.34
Administrative routines	1.70	3.87	0.13
Financial administration	2.17	3.92	0.30
Personnel welfare	4.62	2.43	- 0.03
Personnel development/ further education	3.73	2.97	0.13

As can be seen from the above values, teachers feel that headmasters' current working profiles are characterized by work with administration and finance (this question derives from Ekholm & Sandström, 1982). On the other hand, their working profiles are characterized, to only a minor degree, by work with the teaching content and questions relating to personnel welfare and personnel development.

The correlation coefficients show that teachers feel that headmasters' working profiles should be altered in relation to:

- work with personnel welfare (- 0.03)
- work with personnel development and further education (0.13)
- work with the ongoing administrative routines (0.13)

7. A high average rank value means that the group of teachers have given a high ranking, i.e. it is experienced as being less desirable than a low average rank value.

8. Spearman's ranking-correlation shows the connection between each individual teachers ranking.

The teachers feel that headmasters should devote more time to work with personnel welfare, personnel development and further education, whilst devoting less time to work with the ongoing administrative routines.

On the other hand teachers are relatively satisfied with headmasters' working profiles in relation to:

- work with financial administration (0.30)
- work with the teaching content (0.32)
- student welfare (0.34)

No marked difference was noticed between teachers in the different school forms.

Teachers' views concerning school leaders' judgments of their own contributions as teachers

A large proportion of teachers felt that their own school leaders made no judgement of their own contributions as teachers at all or were unaware if their own school leaders made such a judgment.

Table 5. Teachers' views concerning school leaders' judgments of their own contributions as teachers

	Total	Comprehensive schools	Voluntary school forms
Fair	27%	26%	32%
Unfair	2%	2%	2%
No judgment at all	23%	25%	16%
Don't know	48%	47%	50%

23% feel that no judgment whatsoever is made, whilst 48% do not know. Only 2% of teachers believe that the school leader makes an unfair judgment

of their own contributions as a teacher. 27% of the teachers feel that a fair judgment is made. No great differences were found between the different school forms, although there is a somewhat greater proportion within voluntary school forms (32%) than within comprehensive schools (26%) who feel that school leaders make a fair judgment of their own contributions as teachers and a smaller proportion that feel that no judgment is made at all.

Teachers conversations with school leaders

72% of teachers had, "during the previous week", some form of conversation/discussion with one or more of their school leaders. Of this share, 30% had such a conversation once, 26% 2-3 times, whilst 16% had more than 3 conversations during this period of time. Primary and Junior school teachers had the fewest conversations. 36% of the former and 33% of the latter had no conversation at all with any school leader during the previous week. 25% of Secondary school teachers had some form of conversation with one of their school leaders during the previous week and within the voluntary school forms, 19% had no conversation with a school leader. The most common forms of conversation were:

- spontaneous group conversation (in the staff room or similar)
- spontaneous one to one conversations with a school leader
- personal conversation for which the teacher had taken the initiative

Conversations between school leaders and teachers most frequently dealt with student welfare (55%), everyday matters (49%) and administrative routines (43%). Conversations seldom dealt with financial administration (19%), personnel welfare/psycho-socio working environment (21%), private matters (21%) or the teaching content/structure (27%).

Table 6. Subjects of conversations with school leader(s).

Subject of conversation	Frequency
Student welfare	55%
Everyday matters	49%
Administrative routines	43%
Physical working environment (equipment, premises etc.)	31%
Personnel development/ further education	31%
Timetable/work allocation	27%
Private matters	21%
Teaching content/structure	27%
Personnel welfare/psycho-socio working environment (relationships)	21%
Financial administration	19%

Certain differences, in terms of subject of conversation, can be found between the different school forms. 43% of teachers at voluntary school forms, compared with 22% of teachers at comprehensive schools had a conversation with school leaders during the previous week concerning the timetable/work allocation. There is also a somewhat greater proportion of teachers at voluntary school forms (32%) compared with teachers at comprehensive schools (25%) that during the previous week had a conversation with a school leader concerning the teaching content/structure.

Table 7. Teachers' confidence in the work performed by their own school leaders.

In general terms do you have confidence in the work that your school leader performs?	Yes	No	Uncertain
Total	71%	4%	25%
Comprehensive school	70%	4%	26%
Voluntary school forms	75%	4%	21%

In general terms, a clear majority of teachers (71%), had confidence in the work performed by their school leaders. However, a quarter (25%) of them are uncertain and 4% do not have this confidence.

A somewhat higher proportion of teachers in voluntary school forms (75%) compared with teachers in comprehensive schools (70%) expressed confidence in the work performed by their own school leaders.

Governing factors for teaching

Working from eleven set alternative answers, teachers were asked to indicate the three alternatives that they felt to be the most important governing factors for their own teaching.

Table 8. Governing factors for teaching[9].

What factors govern your own teaching?	Percentage
1. Own initiative and ideas	65%
2. Composition of student group	56%
3. Goals and guidelines of the curriculum	51%
4. Students initiative and ideas	32%
5. Teaching materials	28%
6. Time and course plans	22%
7. The working team's ideas	19%
8. Other factors	4%
9. Conference decisions	4%
10. Established rules of the school	2%
11. Directives from the school leader	0%

As can be seen from the table, teachers' own initiatives and ideas are the most important governing factors. The composition of student groups, the goals and guidelines of the curriculum and students' ideas are also important governing factors to a great degree. On the other hand, the established rules of the school, directives from the school leader and the working team's ideas

9. Each teacher marked three alternatives

were not felt to be important governing factors. No marked difference was noticed between the different forms of schools.

Summary

The above results of the questionnaire study amongst teachers in Sweden can be summarized as follows:

1. Teachers feel that school leaders must have the principle responsibility to ensure that the bias of the school's teaching meets the state's intentions.

2. Teachers feel that they themselves should be responsible for the teaching content and the school leader for its external organizational form (work allocation, premises etc.).

3. Teachers feel that the school leader should have the principle responsibility for the school's development work.

4. Teachers feel that the headmaster should concentrate more on personnel welfare, personnel development and further education.

5. Teachers feel that the headmaster should concentrate less on work with ongoing administrative routines.

6. Teachers feel that headmasters are not currently involved with the teaching content and should not be so.

7. Teachers feel that headmasters currently work with financial administration and student welfare to a certain degree and should continue to be involved with these questions in the future to approximately the same degree.

8. None of the teachers considered that directives from the school leader were important governing factors for their own teaching.

9. Almost three-quarters (72%) of teachers had, during the previous week, some form of conversation with one or more of their school leaders.

10. A somewhat larger proportion of teachers within voluntary school forms, compared with teachers at comprehensive schools had, during the previous week, conversations with one of their school leaders.

11. The most common subjects of conversation were:

- spontaneous group conversations (in the staff room or similar)
- spontaneous one to one conversations with a school leader
- personal conversations for which the teacher took the initiative themselves

12. The conversations between teacher and school leader most frequently dealt with student welfare and everyday matters. On the other hand, conversations seldom dealt with financial administration, personnel welfare, the psycho-socio working environment, private matters or teaching content/structure.

13. 71% of teachers feel that their own school leaders make no form of judgment at all or are not aware that they make a judgment of their own contributions as teachers. However, a somewhat greater proportion of teachers within voluntary school forms (32%) than in comprehensive schools (26%) feel that school leaders make a fair judgment of their contributions as teachers and a smaller proportion (in the same school forms) fell that no judgment is made at all.

14. In general terms a majority of teachers (71%) have confidence in the work that their own school leaders perform. A quarter are, however, uncertain and 4% do not have such confidence. A somewhat greater proportion of teachers within voluntary school forms, compared to comprehensive schools feel confident in the work performed by their own school leaders.

Conclusions

One characteristic of established professions such as doctors and lawyers is that, amongst other things, there is a unanimity in the surrounding sanction from different interest groups (see, for example, Berg, 1990). This means that there also exists an accord between the working group's formal tasks (the governing body's sanction) and the functions that other groups within the society feel that the working group should perform. One of the most important groups for the school is, of course, the teachers. In this paper we have shown teacher's opinions and expectations of the way the school leader performs his work.

In order to obtain an understanding of the degree to which there exists accord between the teachers' opinions and expectations of their school leaders and the school leader's formal tasks, the following questions will be dealt with:

1. What are the school leader's formal tasks?
2. What do teachers feel that the school leader does and should do?
3. Do the formal tasks correspond to what the teachers feel that the school leader does and should do?
4. What possible reasons and explanations exist for school leaders' working conditions?

What are the school leader's formal tasks?

Working from studies of controlling documents for the Swedish school (amongst others prop. 1988/89:4), the school leader's legality is characterized (i.e. the formal tasks) by an active operational responsibility. This means that the school leader should be in unity with, actively assert and be responsible for the realization of the curriculum's aims in the school's teaching and other operations. Furthermore, the school leader should actively influence teachers and other school personnel to embrace the goals, support goal-oriented development work and administer a goal-oriented operation. Berg (1989) summarized the school leader formal tasks by the concept of "Educational leader".

What do teachers feel that the school leader does and should do?

A number of the results of the questionnaire show that teachers feel that the school leader should be responsible for the school's external organization, be principally responsible for the school's operations and concentrate on questions of personnel welfare, whilst the teachers themselves should be responsible for the teaching content. An example of such a result is that a clear majority (80-100%) of teachers feel that:

- teachers should be responsible for the teaching content and school leaders for its ultimate organizational form (work allocation, premises etc.)
- school leaders should have the principle responsibility for the school's development work
- the headmaster should concentrate more on personnel welfare, personnel development and further education
- at the present time, the headmaster is not involved with the teaching content and neither should he be so
- the headmaster works, to a certain extent, with financial administration and student welfare and should continue to do so in the future, to approximately the same degree
- teachers feel that directives from school leaders are <u>not</u> important governing factors in their own teaching.

Do the fomal tasks correspond to what teachers feel the school leader does and should do?

The above results principally show that the school leader's formal tasks do not correspond to what teachers feel that the school leader in fact does or should do. As stated above, the school leaders formal tasks are characterized by an active operational responsibility, which can be summarized by the concept of "Educational Leader". This means that the school leader, in compliance with his formal tasks, should take an active part in the heart of school operations, i.e., the teaching process. The results of the questionnaire study, in the meantime, show that teachers do not feel that the school leader does this. Neither do teachers feel that the school leader should be involved in this area. The question then arises as to the reason for this discrepancy

between the school leaders formal tasks and teacher's understanding of what the school leader now does and should do, i.e., the teacher's expectations.

What possible reasons and explanations exist for the school leader's working conditions?

We will point out three possible and partly connected reasons as to why school leaders[10] do not operate in accordance with their formal tasks, namely:

1. The "esprit de corps" - team spirit - between teachers and school leaders.
2. The altered control structure of the Swedish school system.
3. The school leaders foundation of knowledge and education.

The "esprit de corps" between teachers and school leaders

Most school leaders have a relatively long background as teachers. This means that over a longer period of time they have been influenced by the team spirit that exists within this working group. According to Lortie (1975), this team spirit or ethos is characterized by:

- individualism
- presenantism
- conservatism

In practice, this "esprit de corps" means that teachers work individually in the classroom, have no long term plans and avoid radical change. This also means, as, for example, Lundén & Näsman (1987) point out, that teachers and their colleagues form a unified group compared with other groups, such as parents.

When teachers subsequently become school leaders they retain, at least initially, the same type of team spirit they had as teachers. Even if they now,

10. It should be pointed out that it is the teachers perception of what the school leader does and should do that forms the basis of this statement. Of course, it is not necessarily true that teachers have a correct perception of what the school leader actually does. Interviews with school leaders (see, for example, Berg, 1990 and Nytell, 1991) show, in the meantime, a concurrence with these variables that we now focus upon.

as school leaders, belong to a new working category, they have little contact with this and have, during their training and many years as teachers, been influenced by the team spirit of the teacher corps. In all probability, the school leader will feel a strong bond with and loyalty towards his former colleagues - the teachers - for a considerable time. To then be the "boss" and the extended arm of the governing body and to have the principle task of leading a development that is not always understood by teachers as being positive and that perhaps, to a greater or lesser degree, is on a collision course with the teachers team spirit, can be problematical. For example, difficulties can arise if the school leader, in compliance with his formal tasks, attempts to make teachers work on an overall subject basis in work teams or attempts to alter the traditional teaching process where the teacher is active and the student is receptive and passive (see, for example, Lundgren, 1979 and Andersson, 1983). On the other hand it is considered more "legitimate" for the school leader to concentrate on administration and finance. This is an area that teachers are not involved with at all and cannot or do not wish to be involved. Student welfare is also considered "legitimate" for the school leader to work with as it is an area where teachers often seek help and relief. By concentrating on these areas, that teachers do not master and do not wish to be involved with, the school leader can retain a good relationship with his former colleagues.

The altered control structure of the Swedish school system

As can be seen from Berg (1989) and Nytell (1991), the control structure of the Swedish school system has altered in recent years. From having been one of the world's most centralized school systems, it has, to a certain extent in recent years, been decentralized. This is important for the type of leadership that is relative to the school. In a centralized system, as Berg maintains, a bureaucratic/administrative leadership is most relevant. The leadership's task is to administer an existing set of rules. In a more decentralized system it is, on the other hand, essential that the leadership make use of the scope available to the organization and seek to direct the operation towards the intentions that the governing body has for the operation. The leadership should, working from these overall intentions and goals, engage and support personnel in a goal-oriented operation. In order to achieve this and thereby be able to lead a

school operation that is capable of using this available scope, the leadership must have a sound knowledge of what the outer and inner borders of this scope entail. The outer borders are drawn by the intentions of the governing body for the operation, whilst the inner borders are formed by the actually existing school operation decided by culture, team spirit, tradition etc.

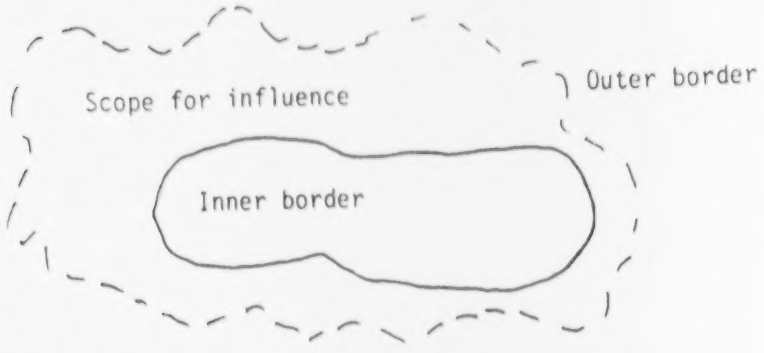

Figure 1. The inner and outer borders and scope of influence (from Berg & Wallin, 1983).

As the Swedish school system has previously been centralized and controlled in detail, there is a strong tradition and expectation from this form of control as to how the school leader should perform his tasks. This tradition and expectation is characterized by a bureaucratic/ administrative leadership, i.e. that the school leader should take care of and be responsible for the external organization, administrative routines etc. One of the reasons for the school leader concentrating on these areas is consequently, most likely this tradition, that in this instance, emanates from a previous control structure.

School leaders' foundation of knowledge and training

To become a qualified teacher, it is necessary to go through 3 or 4 years of teacher training. The teacher training, in principle, gives a foundation of knowledge based on subject knowledge and subject methodology. Many school leaders have long teaching experience and have often served in special positions. The tasks that teachers are subsequently set when they become school leaders are of a completely different nature than those they had as

teachers. Their foundation of knowledge from their teaching period is no longer sufficient. Sarason (1971) even implies that those who have been teachers for a long period of time have gained experience that is the direct opposite of the customs and experiences required to prepare for work as a school leader. Hall & Parkay (1990) show, from their research, that of 113 "beginning principals" the greatest problem for them was to realize "educational goals". Even if they see themselves as leaders for the school's goals and teaching programme, a "staggering array of problems deter them from devoting continuing attention and energy to this task" (a.a. p. 50).

Furthermore, these studies show that the new working tasks for many school leaders are virtually a shock experience. Above all, the tremendous number of different types of tasks come as a surprise. As they are not prepared, in terms of knowledge, to be able to cope with these tasks, new school leaders must rapidly acquire the knowledge needed to cope with their new daily tasks. These types of tasks often entail, as Hultman (1987) shows, many unplanned contacts, decisions and administration. Both international as well as Swedish research into school leadership shows that school leaders, in the daily operations of the school, are and are regarded as the representatives of the school's bureaucratice/administrative section (see, for example, Corwin, 1986 and Lundgren, 1986). The educational leadership, on the other hand, is given a low priority in terms of daily work (for example, Petersen, 1978 and Martin, 1980). This is also in line with the results of our questionnaire study, reported above.

The "esprit de corps", in the form of loyalty to the teachers and inadequate knowledge have been put forward as possible reasons for the school leader's formal tasks of running the "educational leadership" being given a low priority within the daily operations of the school. Against this background, the type of training and further education available to the school leader is vitally important. Most of the currently engaged school leaders in Sweden (approximately 5,000) were trained during the 1970s and 1980s. The overall goal of their training was to reduce the distance between the school's actual operations and its ideal, as formulated by school-political goals. Ekholm (1977) states that the goal of school leadership training was to develop operations at the local school, develop the school leadership function and

develop the individual school leader as a person. According to the SIA proposition (1975/76:39) this training should be aimed at:
- participants deepening their knowledge of the goals of the school, discussing the inference of these goals and how they can be achieved
- participants should deepen their self awareness and their knowledge of relationships between people
- participants should develop the will, together with other personnel and students, to find lines of action and together lay the foundations for operational development within each school where each and every individual can influence their situation and be able to develop
- each participant should genuinely assist in forming and testing the teaching and its content and thereby train themselves in a democratic working form
- participants, together with the personnel should work towards cooperation between the school and society
- participants, together with the school's personnel and its pupils, should critically examine the school's daily operations with a view to testing their working forms.

The question then is what this comprehensive school leadership training, in reality, has actually led to, in terms of the effects on school leaders' ability to lead the school in compliance with the formal task that they have, to be "Educational Leaders"?

Hultman (1986) maintains, against the background of a comprehensive evaluation project of school leadership training, that the effects principally have a personal influence on the school leader. This personal influence has meant an increased self awareness and understanding on the part of the school leader. On the other hand, no indication is given as to whether the school leader has gained the necessary knowledge/expertise to operate some form of educational leadership. Of course, this personal influence can lead to increased ability to run an educational leadership. In the meantime, no evaluation results exist to indicate that this ability has been increased. Neither has the training, as was its intention, led to any direct changes in relation to operations at the school leaders' schools. A fundamental reason for this is summarized by Hultman (1986) by the concept of "mutual status quo" (p. 186). This refers to "..the system's different sections avoiding cooperation to

achieve change: the parties involved help each other to avoid possible development " (ibid p. 186). By course leaders and participants mutually making no demands of each other the whole of the school leadership training could be regarded as being "two worlds (one abstract and one concrete) in which everyone lived their own lives alongside one another" (ibid p. 186).

One reason for it being possible for these two worlds to exist in the training and the training not leading to any meaningful change in the operations, can have been that the training disregarded the fundamental characteristic of the Swedish school system. In principle, this means that they did not focus on the school, in structural terms, as a contradictory, conflict filled organization. Within this type of organization, there are contradictory intentions and wills, which to the greatest possible degree, influence the work of the school leader. I have, for example, pointed out how teachers' expectations of school leaders do not correspond with the school leaders formal tasks laid down by the governing body. An example of the fact that the school has not been viewed as a contradictory organization, rather than it being seen as a harmonious organization, was underlined by the fact that school leaders "together" and in "cooperation" with the schools' personnel (see above) should run the operation. This is, of course, correct and essential in a decentralized organization such as the school. However, one problem of concentrating on cooperation is that the conflict that exists between the school leader's formal tasks and the personnel's expectations, i.e. the legitimacy, is not pointed out and its inherent problems not discussed. The results of the questionnaire and document study shows that a clear conflict does in fact exist within the school.

How can a development of the school leader's working conditions be achieved?

A possible way of developing the school leader's working conditions is to develop his professionalism so that it is based on factors that are characteristic of the school and school leader's formal tasks. Working from normal criteria for professionalism, I will, finally, briefly indicate what this could entail.

The school leader's foundation of knowledge must be developed, based on knowledge of control, curriculum theory, organizational theory and a knowledge of how to engage personnel in a goal-oriented operation. School leaders must also develop their own "esprit de corps" which should stem from their loyalty to the goals of the school.

The sanction of the immediate environment should principally be based upon the goals for the school, i.e. ultimately the goals fomulated by the governing body. This does not of course mean that one should ignore the expectations and desires of other groups within society. It is rather a question of where the centre of gravity lies, an awareness of the importance of the immediate environment's sanction and a readiness to deal with contradictory desires and expectations. The autonomy of the school leader should relate to the school's operation as a whole, i.e. not only the external organization, but also the actual teaching process.

This is an example of a school leadership development direction aimed at developing the professionalism of the working group. A professionalism whose nucleus is made up of factors that relate to leading the school in a defined direction rather than of more or less general leadership qualities.

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